2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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MOIETIES

Some societies, among them the Todas and Australian aborigines, *have only* two phratries, which are then called moieties. Other societies, notably in the lowland areas of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal, have a number of endogamous phratries ranked into long-lasting social hierarchies; such units, called *jatis* or subcastes, may summate to castes or to *jati*-clusters (cf. Mandelbaum, 1970, *passim*).

Badaga society, consisting of forty-four clans and ten phratries, is now in the anomalous position of being to some extent a moiety organization, to some extent a *jati* organization. This situation has arisen, I suggest, because two different models have been available to the Badagas for emulation, a Brahminic one known to them from lowland caste society and—unique in India—a tribal one represented by Toda social organization. Their situation became yet more complex when in the nineteenth century Westernization also began, and a tenth Christian phratry grew out of six of the others. This complexity has not been properly appreciated, for though several earlier writers have described Badaga society as a hierarchy of subcastes none has considered it to have moieties. Yet the neighbouring Todas possess a well-known moiety system. In their case there are now sixteen exogamous patrilineal clans, six in Teivali (töwfily) moiety and ten in Tarthar (to:rθas). The two moieties are endogamous, and Tarthar has a ritual superiority over Teivali which is expressed by ownership of the most sacred grades of temple and buffalo; the priests who sacrifice buffalo calves belong to Teivali.[2]

The Badagas show much more cultural diversity than the Todas, largely as an effect of having come at various times from different places and from varying caste and religious backgrounds. Nevertheless we may consider them (at least for the sake of argument) to have two well-defined, culturally heterogeneous moieties—one vegetarian, the other not. As we have already seen, the act of eating meat placed some ancestral groups definitively in one moiety, where they have since remained. In this connexion it is worth noting that while both Toda moieties are vegetarian, it is only the priests of the lower moiety (Teivali) who kill calves and also the more sacred buffaloes sacrificed at a funeral. A further parallel between the two societies is that, just as Todas of Teivali moiety have to perform certain priestly functions for Tarthar, so

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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men in the Ha:ruva and Wodea clans perform a priestly role only for clans of the other Badaga moiety. Among Todas a kind of secondary marriage is permissible between the otherwise endogamous moieties (Rivers, 1906, 699–700); among Badagas formal marriage may sometimes occur between the usually endogamous moieties, provided that the man or woman from the meat-eating moiety abstain from meat while in the presence of the vegetarian spouse. It is important to note that the present trend in Badaga society is towards total endogamy of each moiety: Ha:ruva, Adikiri and Kaggusi marriage with Gaudas has been decreasing in this century, and Lingayats now avoid marrying into the Ha:ruva families which also have marriage connexions with Gaudas; yet hypogamy and hypergamy are both still permissible. Were the Badagas moving towards a caste model of society, one might expect hypogamy to disappear (since it is not usual in caste societies) and further culinary distinctions to be adopted. For example, distinctions might then be made, as elsewhere in India, between those who eat beef, those who take mutton but no beef, those eating eggs but no meat and those solely vegetarian. Yet no such complication is emerging: people are strengthening the boundary between households of vegetarian and of non-vegetarian diet, but no finer distinctions are drawn. The moiety of vegetarians includes all of the clans noted for their religious orthodoxy, while the larger non-vegetarian moiety includes most of the better educated, somewhat westernized and economically influential families.

SEPTS

The Badaga clans are reputedly distributed among sixteen septs which, it is asserted, cross-cut all of South Indian society. In their theory every clan of every Hindu caste is affiliated to one or more exogamous *kolas;* the Badaga clans were of the same *kolas* even before leaving Mysore, and indeed fourteen of their *kolas* are still identifiable among Mysore castes. *Kola* has thus to be defined as a sept or patrilineal descent group, 'a group of persons, all of whom believe themselves to be related, owning some relation to an object animate or inanimate, and exhibiting the taboo-behaviour towards it. . . . There does not appear to be any larger organisation comprising the various kulas (Srinivas, 1942, 32). Their distribution, according to Badaga elders, is as follows: